11: Haguenauer--33 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 A tayal

The occupants of a Tayal house are not very numerous; they consist of just one family, according to our meaning of the term. Occasionally the parents live with a married couple, but that is not an obligatory rule. And you do not find several related couples living together, as is the case among the Tchou.

11: Haguenauer--35 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 Atayal

There is another form of marriage among the Tayal in which the husband enters his wife's family, but this is only done in cases where the wife's family is short of men.

19: Guérin and Bernard--560 [3] G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 585, 591

Among the savages the wedding is held at the home of the fiancé; the bride has no share in it, and she waits at home until a noisy procession comes to get her, and then she accompanies her husband. If her father is dead, she has no brother, or just little ones, the husband and his wife live with her mother.

21: Asai--2 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 / Formosan Aborigines
116, 591, 592 Ami

"The Ami tribe has a matriarchal system. The female owns the property and the house and inheritance is through her. The husband comes from another house. The keys of the granary are kept by the women."

22: Wiedfeldt--15 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 562, 462, 591, 285 Atayal

The man's obligation is not only to afford protection against enemies, but also to provide shelter against the rigors of the weather. Before he is married, he builds the hut and the small adjoining hut, and prepares them, which takes about four to five months. During his married life he also builds a new hut, if the old one is destroyed by termites or storms, or is used as a place of burial and hence left deserted. He makes all the woven material, from the mats which are used as curtains to the baskets to hold provisions...

The protector, among the Atayals, also becomes an archer and hunter, as well as a fisherman.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [5] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591, 583 Atayal

Sometimes, if the bridegroom can not get together the price of the bride, or if the girl is the only living child of her parents, the bridegroom enters the family of the bride, and works out the price of the bride, so to speak, in two years. During this time, he and his wife live in the small adjoining hut.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 [7] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 Atayal

If the bridegroom and the bride are from different clans, he is permitted to choose in which of the two clans he wishes to settle. Every clan welcomes an increase in workers and fighters... As a rule, however, the bridegroom builds his hut on the land belonging to his clan.

24: Anonymous--91 [4] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591, 842

The natives regard the birth of a daughter as a fortunate event, for a boy will leave the house sooner or later to live with his wife's parents, while the daughter will bring home a son-in-law. When a girl desires to marry she goes into the community house (kung-chich). Her suitor seranades her with a jew's harp (k'-ou-ch'-in), and she comes out of the house to unite with him. If he is agreeable to her, she informs her parents, a drinking bout is held to which the neighbors are invited, and this concludes the ceremony.

25: Plaut--59 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 428, 591, 594, 601, 611

The family has two forms, depending upon whether it is continued in the woman's tribe or in the man's. Among the Puyuma and the Amis it is based entirely on female descendants. Here the oldest daughter is always the heiress of the house, the other daughters receive a share of the property but the sons do not have the right to inherit anything. They are obliged to leave the house and to marry into another....The Tsarisen, on the other hand, only consider the sons as members of the family, but they frequently marry into the woman's house, too. The same thing is true of the Peipo. In one part of the tribe it is customary for the husband to enter his wife's family. Today the Atayal only recognize the man's tribe, but the fact that they only have one word (yaki) to denote the terms ancestor and grandmother, seems to indicate that in former times they observed matrilineal succession too, and they have the custom that the mother is the only one entitled to name the newborn child.

In other tribes it is impossible to determine whether women ever played a similar role or not. Among the Tsoo, for example, the oldest son succeeds his father as master of the house, and the younger ones do not marry into other houses but found separate establishments with a part of their inheritance. The same thing is true among the Bonum. In the Spayowan tribe, the male line seems to have been the dominant one for centuries, for there is just one word, wonu, to designate the grandfather and the grandson.

25: Plaut--61 [3] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 586, 591 Tsalisen

The Tsarisen have a match-maker. If a young man decides that he wants to marry, he gets the consent of his parents and then arranges with a match-maker to woo the girl. If her parents agree to the wedding, the two families exchange a gift of wine, and that amounts to the conclusion of the contract. The marriage takes place about a month later, and at that time the young couple has to drink wine together. The wife lives in the house of her parents until her first child is born, and then she moves to her husband's home. If there is no child after a year and a day, the husband stays away from the home of his parents-in-law, and that amounts to a divorce.

25: Plaut--61 [4] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 583, 591

When a young man of the Spayowan tribe wants to marry a girl, he carries a bundle of kindling and a vessel full of water in front of her house. If the family takes them inside the dwelling, it means that they look with favor upon the match. The youth moves to their house, helps them with the work for a year and then he can take the girl home and celebrate the wedding. At this time he has to give a present to the girl's relatives, and it consists of wine and betel nuts.

34: Del Re--29 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 591 Yami

"The wife works for her husband's family who, in turn, keep her. She is none the less free (as is also the man) to return home occasionally or to go and stay with friends. This is not the case in other tribes where the wife and the husband continue to reside in their own homes even after marriage, the woman being visited by her husband when he wishes to sleep with her and, even then, only by stealth and at night or, if by day, when no one else is in the house, and always provided his wife grants him permission to do so. (10)"

10. cpr. account of marriage customs etc. among Western tribes in VF, Pt. I, p. 8-10. This is of special interest as referring to a period in their social evolution anterior to their partial conversion to Christianity by Dutch missionaries in the South and Spanish Catholic fathers in the North, which temporarily affected their gradual sinicization. Among the former was the famous Georgius Candidius, who arrived in Formosa in 1627.

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955

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his parents, or if the daughter-in-law does not live harmoniously and affably with her parent-in-laws, the newly married couple may move out and live by themselves. In some cases, the parents may choose to live with their eldest or second son and not necessarily with the youngest, though this may be an exception. Therefore *βaβuʔan* is a kind of limited extended family or "compromise family".

If a family has only a daughter and no son, or though it has a son who is disliked by the parents, the daughter may remain in her parents's family and the residential system will be matrilocal, that is, her husband will come to live with her and her parents.

After the deaths of the parents, the elder brother has to take up the responsibility for taking care of his unmarried younger siblings, so they may come to live with their elder brother. A widowed sister, widowed sister-in-law, parentless nephew or niece may also depend upon the *otox βaβuʔan*. Divorce and remarriage are frequent. The family with remarried spouse may have half-siblings.

2. *saliʔ*

saliʔ is a kin group larger than a *βaβuʔan*. *saliʔ* originally also means "family". In *tapilas*, *saliʔ* refers to two kinds of organization: in its narrow sense, *saliʔ* means "family", in its broader sense, "consanguinity".

(1) *saliʔ* in its narrow sense: A man, as stated above, usually establishes a new *βaβuʔan* after he is married. But his new house is always erected close to or sometimes adjacent to his parents'. Thus it may be regarded as an extension of the parents' house. This kind of kin group, which includes par ts' and their offsprings' households, is called *otox* or *qotox saliʔ*. It is clear then that a *saliʔ*, though it resembles a family, is not always merely one "family", it may be defined as "kindred", as the term has been employed by W. H. R. Rivers.

(2) *saliʔ* in its broader sense: On paternal side, *saliʔ* consists of lineal ascendants up to third generation and collaterals including tertiary relatives. In other words, it is a group of agnates who share a common grand-grand-father, this group thus includes the brothers and sisters of the grand-father and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group of kinsmen is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jotas ta*, which literally means "of the same grandfather of father". On maternal side, *saliʔ* consists of mother's father, mother's brother, and one's maternal cousins. In other words, it is a group of maternal agnates who share a common mother's father, this group thus includes mother's brothers, sisters, and their offsprings. The Atayal term for this group is *otox* or *qotox jaβa naqo jaja miam*, which literally means "of the same mother's father". Members of the same *saliʔ* are cognates to each other, so *saliʔ* may be translated as "consanguinities". Marriage is prohibited between members of the same generation within the *saliʔ*. Therefore a *saliʔ* is also a patrilineal bilateral type exogamous group.

3. *cəlo* and *caca*

A consanguineous group larger than a *saliʔ* is called a *cəlo* or *caca*. *cəlo* means

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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different localities, so that their cultures, though similar, are not uniform. The native tribes also differ considerably in the degree to which they have been acculturated and in the type of culture change that has taken place.

The Ami

The Ami live in the Taitung Rift Valley, which runs in approximately a north-south direction for 150 kilometres along the east coast of Formosa. Some Ami live on the east coast proper. The Ami tribe is the largest on Formosa. They are divided into five groups by dialect and cultural differences. The number of households and population of each group, based on the census of 1937, are as follows:

Group	No. of households	Population
Pei-nan	859	9546
Heng-ch'un	461	4403
Hai-an	1159	11760
Hsiu-ku-luan	2008	15861
Nan-shih	1713	8436
Total	6200	50006

The chief traits of the Ami are intensive agriculture and fishing; pile dwellings; paddle-and-anvil pottery; long wooden shields; feather headdresses; clans[1]; matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence; classificatory or Malayan kinship terminology; parent-child nymic linkage; and age-grades.

Tavarong is a town of 5,000 population situated in the central part of the Taitung Rift Valley, in Hualien Hsien. It belongs to the Hsiu-ku-luan group and is regarded by the Ami themselves as the oldest settlement in the whole Ami area. About one per cent of the Tavarong townsmen are Christians; the rest hold to their native religion.

Gods, spirits, and souls

The Ami term for gods, which include also spirits and souls, is *kawas*. The Tavarong Ami believe in two kinds of *kawas*. The first kind, which may be considered natural gods, include *maratau*, *tšidar*, *borar*], and others. *maratau* is a male tutolary deity who resides in heaven. According to informant Maran-Namo?, *maratau* is the god of "politics and strength". In former days, when the Ami were at war with their neighbors, the Atayal, they prayed to *maratau* for protection[2]. *tšidar* is the female sun goddess, and *borar*] the male moon god. The sun goddess is held to be more powerful than the moon god. Maran-Namo? while explaining the designs on the houseposts of the house of the *kakita:n* (priest), stated that *tšidar* is the almighty deity and holds the supreme position over

1. Utsurikawa [1935] reported about 55 clan names for the Ami, but he gave no clan names north of the Vataan, Tavarong, and Karuran areas.
2. According to Furuno [1954:3-42], *maratau* is connected with headhunting and is the god of crops and game, as well as being the war god.

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries bstween the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*. leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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